

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SP-02

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TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY BEFORE HUMPRHEY SUBCOMMITTEE

FOR DEPSEC CHRISTOPHER ONLY FROM LAKE-S/P

FOR DELIVERY BEFORE CHRISTOPHER DEPARTURE 0100 EDT 2 MARCH

THERE FOLLOWS FIRST CUT OF PROPOSED TEXT FOR YOUR OPENING  
REMARKS BEFORE HUMPHREY SUBCOMMITTEE FOR YOUR COMMENTS.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO TESTIFY.

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE TODAY TO AFFIRM THIS ADMINISTRATION'S  
COMMITMENT TO MAKING HUMAN RIGHTS AN IMPORTANT CONCERN OF  
UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. PRESIDENT CARTER BEGAN  
THIS ADMINISTRATION WITH THE INAUGURAL PLEDGE THAT "BECAUSE  
WE ARE FREE, WE CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF  
FREEDOM ELSEWHERE." THEN, IN HIS CONFIRMATION HEARINGS,  
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SECRETARY VANCE STATED THAT "WE MUST HAVE POLICIES BASED  
ON FUNDAMENTAL VALUES. IN PARTICULAR, WE MUST STAND FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS."

THE CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE WOVEN INTO THE  
FABRIC OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IF WE ARE TO DO JUSTICE TO  
OUR GOALS, WE MUST ACT ALWAYS WITH A CONCERN TO ACHIEVE  
PRACTICAL RESULTS, AND WITH AN AWARENESS OF THE OTHER  
DEMANDS ON OUR DIPLOMACY. WHEN IT IS DESIRABLE TO DO SO,  
WE WILL SPEAK OUT, TRYING TO BE NEITHER STRIDENT NOR

POLEMICAL. THIS IS NOT A ONE-WAY STREET, AND WE MUST EXPECT THAT AT TIMES OTHERS MAY CRITICIZE US. WE MAY DECIDE TO COMMUNICATE BY QUIET DIPLOMACY WITH THE COUNTRY INVOLVED TO SEE WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THAT WAY. OR WE MAY PREFER TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM NOT BILATERALLY, BUT THROUGH MULTILATERAL CHANNELS. IN SOME INSTANCES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS MAY BE CURTAILED, BUT WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT TO BE FAIR,

WE SHOULD NOT JUST PENALIZE BUT ALSO INSPIRE, PERSUADE, AND REWARD.

ALREADY, OUR COMMITMENT HAS PROMPTED DEFINITE ACTIONS. IN PURSUIT OF THE GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE AND EQUAL RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, WE HAVE URGED THE CONGRESS TO REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT. THE STATE DEPARTMENT EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR THE FATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND PRESIDENT CARTER WROTE TO NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER ANDREI SAKHAROV TO CONVEY DIRECTLY OUR HOPES FOR THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AS PART OF A CONTINUING REVIEW PROCESS, WE DECIDED TO CUT THE LEVEL OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO SEVERAL COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. WE WILL BE INSTRUCTING OUR EMBASSIES TO PRESS THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH PRIVATE CONTRACTS. WE ARE PLAYING AN ACTIVE PART IN THE WORK OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

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AS AN EXAMPLE OF OUR HUMANITARIAN CONCERN FOR THE UPROOTED AND DISPOSSESSED, I WOULD OBSERVE THAT DURING FY 1976 OUR GOVERNMENT HAS EXPENDED SOME \$475 MILLION ON ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS, AND THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED ABOUT 31,000 REFUGEES FOR PERMANENT RESETTLEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY. WE ARE, OF COURSE, CONTINUING OUR GENEROUS ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN THE CURRENT YEAR.

WE KNOW THAT THE CONGRESS SHARES THIS COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, AND DESERVES SPECIAL CREDIT FOR ITS ATTENTION TO THIS ISSUE IN RECENT YEARS.

THE COMPLEXITY OF THE CHALLENGE COMPELS COLLABORATION BETWEEN US. BY WORKING TOGETHER MORE CLOSELY AND EFFECTIVELY WE CAN RESTORE CONFIDENCE BOTH AT HOME AND

ABROAD IN OUR UNDERTAKING TO ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ADMINISTRATION, AS WELL AS THE CONGRESS, MUST REFLECT IN OUR POLICIES THE VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE RECOGNIZE THAT THESE FIRST STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN ARE JUST THAT. CHANGE TAKES TIME -- AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE

EVOLUTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN OUR OWN COUNTRY: FROM RELIGIOUS FREEDOM THROUGH THE BILL OF RIGHTS, THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, THE FOUR FREEDOMS, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POVERTY TO THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. IT IS A LONG, HARD CLIMB. BUT THE COURSE IS FIRMLY SET.

THERE SHOULD BE NO MISTAKE -- THE UNDERTAKING TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WE KNOW THAT DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICIES WILL FALTER IF THEY DO NOT REFLECT TRADITIONAL AMERICAN VALUES. BUT I WANT IT TO BE CLEAR THAT THIS IS NOT A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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POLICY OF CONVENIENCE, ADOPTED BECAUSE OF ITS POPULARITY AT HOME. A COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTS THE DOMESTIC VITALITY OF THESE VALUES, KEEPING CLEAR OUR IMAGE OF OURSELVES AND ENCOURAGING US TO MAKE THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WORK. IT HELPS US TO MAINTAIN LEADERSHIP OF THE DEMOCRACIES THAT SHARE SIMILAR VALUES. AND IT SERVES AS A POLE OF ATTRACTION TO OTHER STATES AND PEOPLES.

THE QUESTION IS NEITHER THE DIRECTION NOR THE STRENGTH OF OUR COMMITMENT. THE QUESTION WE MUST ANSWER IS HOW TO SUMMON THE STATESMANSHIP AND THE MORAL COURAGE TO DEAL WITH THE PRACTICAL DILEMMAS AND COMPLEXITIES IN PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS. TODAY I WANT TO DISCUSS BRIEFLY THE COMPLEXITIES IN LINKING HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS TO ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE.

THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES A WIDE RANGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND BELIEVES ALL MUST BE PROMOTED. THESE INCLUDE THE POLITICAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL PROTECTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, THE NEED TO NURTURE THE ECONOMIC WELFARE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, AND THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE THAT SHOULD BE MAN'S BIRTH RIGHT. OUR MOST CONCENTRATED AREA OF CONCERN HAS BEEN VIOLATIONS OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON -- OFFICIALLY-SANCTIONED MURDER, TORTURE, OR DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL, WHICH THE LEGISLATION YOU APPROVED EMPHASIZED. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VARIOUS KINDS OF RIGHTS I LISTED. UNLIKE OURSELVES, SOME NATIONS PUT

HIGHER PRIORITY ON THE PURSUIT OF ADEQUATE NUTRITION, SHELTER, MEDICAL CARE, AND EDUCATION THAN ON THE PROMOTION OF POLITICAL LIBERTY OR INDIVIDUAL JUSTICE.

TEN DAYS AGO, SECRETARY VANCE STATED BEFORE THE SENATE THAT ONE OF OUR FUNDAMENTAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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"TO DEMONSTRATE AMERICA'S COMPASSION FOR THE POOR AND DISPOSSESSED AROUND THE WORLD -- THOSE, WHO THROUGH NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN, ARE EXPOSED TO DAILY SUFFERING AND HUMILIATION AND ARE STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE." CONGRESS HAS A CRUCIAL ROLE TO PLAY BOTH IN ESTABLISHING LEGISLATION GUIDELINES AND PROVIDING APPROPRIATIONS, AND ALREADY CONGRESS HAS WRITTEN THIS CONCERN FOR THE POOREST PEOPLE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES INTO THEIR LEGISLATION. THE HOPE OF PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS ABROAD RESTS ON MUTUAL COOPERATION, AND OUR BEING SYMPATHETIC TO THE PROBLEMS OF THIRD AND FOURTH WORLD COUNTRIES CAN HELP PERSUADE THEIR LEADERS TO RESPOND TO OUR CONCERN FOR INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY.

WE ARE WORKING TO FULFILL BOTH THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF CURRENT LEGISLATION RELATING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. WE CAN BEST ACHIEVE THIS PURPOSE THROUGH CONSCIENTIOUS AND SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS, IN EACH CASE BALANCING A POLITICAL CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST ECONOMIC OR SECURITY GOALS. IN MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS THE UNITED STATES MUST WORK TO MAINTAIN A BROAD INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS AND TO AVOID DESTRUCTIVE BLOC POLITICS THAT WOULD IMPAIR THE PURSUIT OF THE BANKS' DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES. NO FORMULA CAN RESOLVE THE LARGER CONFLICTS OF THESE POSITIONS, BUT PRUDENT AND DEDICATED ATTENTION TO BOTH THE BASIC OBJECTIVES AND THE DAY-TO-DAY OPERATIONS OF OUR PROGRAMS CAN MAKE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS TRACTABLE.

THIS IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY. WE AGREE THAT REDUCTION OR DENIAL OF ECONOMIC OR SECURITY ASSISTANCE, ALTHOUGH NOT THE ONLY WAY, IS ONE WAY TO REGISTER DISPLEASURE WITH A REPRESSIVE REGIME AND TO DISSOCIATE THE UNITED STATES FROM IT. BUT IN DECIDING ON SUCH A STEP, WE NEED TO CONSIDER WHAT EFFECTS IT WILL HAVE ON OUR ABILITY TO PREVENT

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OR RESOLVE ARMED CONFLICTS, ALWAYS THE MOST DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS; ON OUR INFLUENCE IN THE COUNTRY OR ON OUR NEEDED ACCESS TO VITAL FOREIGN RESOURCES OR MILITARY INSTALLATIONS; ON OUR EFFORTS TO HELP NEEDY PEOPLE; AND ON THE BROAD GOALS OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR ABILITY TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

WE IN THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING GUIDELINES

BY WHICH TO CHART THE DIRECTION OF OUR POLICY AND OUR PROGRESS. TAKEN TOGETHER AS POINTS OF REFERENCE THEY WILL MAKE US Surer OF OUR COURSE AND LESS LIKELY TO BE DRIVEN FROM IT BY THE FORCE OF A PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCE. THE QUESTIONS WE ARE CONSIDERING INCLUDE:

1. WILL OUR ACTION BE USEFUL? WILL IT ACTUALLY IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AT HAND? OR WILL IT MAKE IT WORSE?

2. WILL OTHERS SUPPORT US? CAN WE EXPECT THE AID OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DEDICATED TO FURTHERING HUMAN RIGHTS? MY OWN VIEW IS THAT OUR OWN DETERMINATION REINFORCES THE GROWING WORLDWIDE CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

3. DOES OUR SENSE OF VALUES, OUR AMERICAN ETHIC, REQUIRE US TO SPEAK OUT FOR OUR OWN SAKE EVEN IF THE CHANCE THAT WE WOULD BE INFLUENTIAL IS REMOTE?

4. HAVE WE STEERED AWAY FROM THE SELF-RIGHTEOUS AND STRIDENT, REMEMBERING THAT OUR OWN RECORD IS NOT UNBLEMISHED?

5. FINALLY, HAVE WE KEPT OUR SENSE OF PERSPECTIVE, REALIZING THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT FLOURISH IN A WORLD IMPOVERISHED BY ECONOMIC DECLINE OR RAVAGED BY ARMED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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CONFLICT?

THE ADMINISTRATION ALONE CANNOT TAKE ALL THE ACTIONS THAT SHOULD BE PART OF THIS GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE CONGRESS HAS A UNIQUE ROLE TO PLAY BY REFLECTING PUBLIC CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE LAWS IT PASSES AND MONITORING THEIR IMPLEMENTATION, BY FORMING AND FUNDING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, AND BY ASSURING THAT OUR DOMESTIC LAW IS IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

WE URGE THAT YOU JOIN US IN GIVING PRESENT LEGISLATION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS A CHANCE TO WORK, AND THAT WE CAREFULLY CONSIDER TOGETHER ANY NEW LEGISLATION YOU MAY THEN CONCLUDE IS NEEDED.

AS A MATTER OF ESPECIALLY HIGH PRIORITY, WE ALSO URGE YOUR SUPPORT FOR REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT.

THE FIRST WEEKS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN A TIME OF CHANGE AND, WE BELIEVE, A TIME OF RENEWED HOPE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE BELIEVE OUR

GENERAL EMPHASIS ON THIS IMPORTANT ARENA OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT. THIS REACTION ENCOURAGES US ALONG THE PATH WE HAVE SET. THIS ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS HAVE BOTH AN OPPORTUNITY AND A RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE PROTECTION OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS. I NOW LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS.  
VANCE

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